1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

561 the core villagers or to a boys' association, though boys who are
575 no longer able-bodied are considered as *palaks*. Able-bodied wid-
882 owers are also called *gumis pulangan*, and are looked upon by the *desa* as a sort of reserve, since they can again become core villagers by remarrying if their second wife is a *dĭha*. This is perhaps the reason for the regulation that if possible widowers should continue living in separate compounds, and in fact are required to do so if they have a child. (If they are childless they may move into a compound with another family, the which is called *ngĕdis*, from *kĕdis*, 'bird'.) If a widower marries a widow he remains a *gumi pulangan*.

609 It goes without saying that in a village where strangers are looked at askance, immigrants are subject to any number of restrictions. They are relegated seventeen compounds in the *banjar* of Pande, though they may be permitted to use other compounds by way of favour. They are, of course, expected to provide the village with certain services, such as caring for the village orchestra, and must help with the religious services in their *banjar*.

● 567 There has never been slavery in Tĕnganan, though indenture for debt does exist. In this connection attention must be called to the blacksmith family from the *desa* of Tunggak (where it still has its place of burial). This smith, who came to Tĕnganan at the request of the *desa*, was given a loan of sixty thousand doits free of interest, to be paid back in instalments, but the loan is constantly renewed on payment of the last instalment. He works gratis for the *desa* whenever that is necessary.

566 Also in perpetual servitude to the *desa* are the so-called *panjaks desa*, including the village cleaners, the *yayas*. These *yayas* have a function in the *bale agung* similar to that exercised in the *desa* by the *kĕbayans tahak*.[11] These *kĕbayans tahak*, now consisting of fourteen families, may not become members of the *desa* association. Two of them do take part in the meeting in the *bale agung* as *yayas*, but they sit at the very lowest end, below the *pĕngluduhans*, the newest *desa* members. It is the task of the *kĕbayans tahak* to keep the village territory clean. If corpses of people or dogs are found and no one admits that they belong to him, they must see

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

Today the beauty of the Balinese has been exploited to exhaustion in travelogues and by tourist agencies, but as far back as 1619 records mention that Balinese women were in great demand in the slave markets of Bourbon (Reunion), where "they brought as much as 150 florins." The traffic in Balinese slaves continued until 1830, and today there is a colony of Balinese in Batavia, the descendants of former slaves. Their reputation for beauty is well justified: the majority of the population are handsome, with splendid physique and with a dignified elegance of bearing, in both men and women of all ages. From childhood the women walk for miles carrying heavy loads on their heads; this gives them a great co-ordination of movement, a poised walk and bodily fitness. Old women retain their strength and do not become bent hags. We were astonished at times to discover that the slender, straight silhouette we had admired from a distance belonged to an old lady with grey hair, walking with ease under forty or fifty pounds of fruit or pottery. Unless physically disabled, elderly people never admit that they are too old or too weak for activity; to "give up" would be dangerous to physical and spiritual health and would render a person vulnerable to attacks of a supernatural character.

Ordinarily free of excessive clothing, the Balinese have small but well-developed bodies, with a peculiar anatomical structure of simple, solid masses reminiscent of Egyptian and Mycenæan sculptures: wide shoulders tapering down in unbroken lines to flexible waists and narrow hips; strong backs, small heads, and firm full breasts. Their slender arms and long legs end in delicate hands and feet, kept skilful and alive by functional use and dance training. Their faces have well-balanced features, expressive eyes, small noses, and full mouths, and their hair is thick and glossy. Because they are tanned by the sun, their golden-brown skin appears generally darker than it really is, and when seen at a distance, people bathing are considerably whiter around their middles, where the skin is usually covered by clothes, giving the impression that they wear light-coloured pants. Watching a

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

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". . . About noon, the queen's body was burnt without the city with twenty-two of her female slaves. . . . The body was drawn out of a large aperture made in the wall to the right side of the door, in the absurd opinion of cheating the devil. . . . The female slaves destined to accompany the dead went before, according to their ranks . . . each supported behind by an old woman, and carried on a Badi (tower), skillfully constructed of bamboos, and decked all over with flowers. Before them were placed a roast pig, some rice, betel and other fruits as an offering to their gods, and these unhappy victims of the most direful idolatry are thus carried in triumph, to the sound of different instruments, to the place where they are to be poignarded and consumed by fire. There, each found a particular scaffold prepared for her, in the form of a trough, raised on four short posts and edged on two sides with planks. . . . Some of the attendants let loose a pigeon or a fowl, to mark that their soul was on the point of taking its flight to the mansions of the blessed. . . . They were divested of all their garments, except their sashes, and four of the men, seizing the victim, two by the arms, which they held extended, and two by the feet, the victim standing, the fifth prepared himself for the execution, the whole being done without covering the eyes. . . .

"Some of the most courageous demanded the poignard themselves, which they received in the right hand, passing it to the left, after respectfully kissing the weapon. They wounded their right arms, sucked the blood which flowed from the wound, and stained their lips with it, making a bloody mark on the forehead with the point of the finger. Then returning the dagger to their executioners, they received a first stab between the false ribs, and a second under the shoulder blade, the weapon being thrust up to the hilt towards the heart. As soon as the horrors of death were visible in the countenance, without a complaint escaping them, they were permitted to fall on the ground . . . and were stripped of their last remnant of dress, so that they were left in a state of perfect nakedness. The executioners receive as their reward two hundred and fifty pieces of copper money of about the value of five sols each. The nearest relations, if they be present, or persons hired for the occasion . . . wash the bloody bodies . . . covering them with wood

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

in such manner that only the head is visible, and, having applied fire, they are consumed to ashes. . . . 764 782

"The women were already poignarded and the greater number of them in flames, before the dead body of the queen arrived, borne on a superb Badi of pyramidal form, consisting of eleven steps, supported by a number of persons proportioned to the rank of the deceased. . . . Two priests preceded the Badi in vehicles of particular form, each holding in one hand a cord attached to the Badi, as if giving to understand that they led the deceased to heaven, and with the other ringing a little bell, while such a noise of gongs, tambours, flutes and other instruments is made, that the whole ceremony has less the air of a funeral procession than of a joyous village festival. . . . The dead body was placed on its own funeral pile which was forthwith lighted. The assistants then regaled themselves with a feast while the musicians, without cessation, struck the ear with a tumultous melody, not unpleasing. . . . [567]

"At the funeral of the King's two sons a short time before, 42 women of the one, and 34 of the other, were poignarded and burnt in the manner above described; but on such occasions the princesses of royal blood themselves leap at once into the flames . . . because they would look upon themselves as dishonoured by anyone's laying hands on their persons. For this purpose a kind of bridge is erected over a burning pile, which they mount, holding a paper close to their foreheads, and having their robe tucked under their arm. As soon as they feel the heat, they precipitate themselves into the burning pile. . . . In case firmness should abandon them . . . a brother, or another near relative, is at hand to push them in, and render them, out of affection, that cruel office. . . . 764 762

"When a prince or princess of the royal family dies, their women or slaves run around the body, uttering cries . . . and all crazily solicit to die for their master or mistress. The King, on the following day, designates those of whom he makes choice. From that moment to the last of their lives, they are daily conducted at an early hour, each in her vehicle, to the sound of musical instruments . . . to perform their devotions, having their feet wrapped in white linen, for it is no more permitted them to touch the bare earth, because they are considered as consecrated. The young women, little skilled 764 762 567

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

764 762 567 in these religious exercises, are instructed by the aged women who accompany them. . . . Those who have devoted themselves, are made to pass the night in continual dancing and rejoicing. . . . All pains are taken to give them whatever tends to the gratification of their senses, and from the quantity of wine which they take, few objects are capable of terrifying their imaginations. . . . No woman or slave, however, is obliged to follow this barbarous custom. . . ."

The remainder of the narrative proceeds like any other of the [114] great cremations that are held today. Another interesting account of widow-burning is given us by an eyewitness, the scholar Friederich, of the cremation of the Dewa Manggis, Radja of Gianyar, which took place in that town on December 22, 1847:

764 762 "The corpse was followed by the three wives who became Belas. A procession went before them, as before the body. . . . They were seated in the highest storeys of the Bades. . . . After the body of the prince had arrived at the place of cremation, the three Belas in their Bades, each preceded by the bearer of the offerings destined for her, with armed men and bands of music, were conducted to the three fires. . . .

"Their Bades were turned around three times and were carried around the whole place of cremation. The women were then carried down steps from the Bades and up the steps of the places erected for their cremation. These consisted of squares of masonry three feet high filled with combustibles which had been burning since morning and threw out a glowing heat; the persons appointed to watch them fed the fire, and at the moment when the women leaped down, poured upon it a quantity of oil and arrak, so that it flared up to a height of eight feet and must have suffocated the victims at once. Behind this furnace stood an erection of bamboo in the form of a bridge, of the same width as the square of masonry, about forty feet long and from sixteen to eighteen feet high; steps of bamboo led up to it in the rear. In the centre there is a small house, affording a last resting-place to the victim, in which she waits till the ceremonies for her husband are finished and his body has begun to burn. The side of the bamboo scaffold nearest the fire is protected by a wall of wet Pisang (banana) stems. Upon the bridge

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

765 the boisterous men, who play and splash in the breaking waves. There is still the long walk home from the shore, and the crowd returns in the blazing midday sun — hot, exhausted, and considerably poorer than before, but in high spirits and happy to have accomplished their greatest duty to those to whom they owe their existence: the consecration of their dead so that they shall continue to guide them as deities in the same way in which, as ordinary human beings, they helped and protected them. All of this has been achieved by the triple purifying action of earth, fire, and water.

NOTES ON DEATH AND CREMATION

766 A. A corpse that is to be kept mummified within the house and not buried before cremation remains in the pavilion destined for it (*balé layon*), where it is taken care of by female relatives (in old times by a family of slaves), who attend to the collection of the body liquids that flow from the coffin through a bamboo tube into a Chinese porcelain bowl, often a priceless piece of Sung celadon, a family heirloom, to be buried after a sprinkling of holy water.

● 567 767 In old times the slaves appointed to the gruesome task of caring for a noble corpse were regarded as already dead and were treated as such; nobody could talk to them and they could not be denied anything. After the cremation they were set free, but, being "dead," they could not remain in the village. This strange practice, found also among other Indonesians, could be explained as being in the same spirit that caused widow suicides, a symbolical sacrifice of a servant or a slave to accompany his master in the hereafter.

783 764 The uncleanliness that emanates from a dead body demands that such preserved corpses be taken outside the village during festivals. Likewise, a carcass of an animal must not remain in the open and must be buried.

764 772 B. The great cremation towers used to convey the corpses to the place of burning are called ordinarily *wadah*, but that of a nobleman, which has many roofs, receives the more impressive name of *badé*. In detail the tower consists of a strong bamboo platform (*senan*) by which it is carried by hordes of men; then comes the "base" (*dasar*), which represents the underworld (*bhur*). Next come the mountains (*gegunung-gan*); three receding platforms that represent our visible world (*bhuwa*), ornamented with bunches of paper flowers and leaves (*kekayon*), the

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

Certainly the feeling that twins are an evil omen is widespread throughout this extensive area. But I found no evidence to show that the Balinese ever went so far as to kill the children, except in the case of triplets which were two boys and one girl. A Padandă from Sanur and a lontar from Kabă-Kabă (Tabanan) stated that these were to be thrown in the sea or abandoned on the shore; but my informants added that "other people", i.e. not the parents, might take them up and care for them. Probably the high mortality of twins in Bali is sufficiently explained by the undesirable removal of them the day after birth, the sojourn in an inadequate shelter during the first weeks, and perhaps the physical and mental effects on the mother of the whole anxious period before the purification.

Another point must be mentioned in connection with the early death and the separation of the twins. I was told by Chokordă Anom, keeper of the genealogy (*babad*) of the ruling family of Klungkung, that in the time of the Balinese kings all twins and triplets were taken into the Puri of the Rajă to become his slaves (*parĕkan*). The Rajă had the right to take these children, whether two boys, two girls, or whatever the assortment of the sexes. The Rajă's power over them continued throughout their lifetime. It happened in Taro in the last generation that a boy-twin was separated from his sister when they reached puberty, by order of the Anak Agung (prince) of Tĕgal-lalang, whose *parĕkan* the boy became. Later the boy was released from servitude. He returned to Taro and married his twin. He is now dead, and his widow is an old woman. This is the only case I found where a twin or triplet was taken by a prince, although De Vroom speaks of finding in lontars that boy and girl twins may be dedicated to the prince, who will have them educated [1]). And this case also is too far in the past to make sure that it was on account of his being a twin that the boy was taken into servitude. Princes in Bali still can find ways of casting their subjects into

[1]) Vide p. 510 nt. 1.

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

temporary servitude, and this must have been more true before the influence of the Dutch government overspread the island. However, if it *was* the custom for twins to become slaves, that might explain both their reported high mortality and their custom of separation (regardless of whether or not they proposed to marry). For the old Rajă's of Bali ruled their kingdoms loosely, leaving each village its independent organization, themselves rarely venturing beyond their palace walls. From time to time they sent a Patih or emissary to collect tribute, or to bring back some offender against the crown to have his head chopped off. (Such is the picture suggested by the literature, the popular legends and dramatic plays representing older times.) In cases where two or more children had been born at once, it would have been easy enough to cheat the Rajă of his slaves by the adoption of the extra children into other houses, and the reported death of any child whose liability to servitude threatened. However the death of one or more of the children does not release the parents from the full obligation of banishment and the purification ceremonies prescribed by the village law. A crime against the community and a crime against the Rajă were two distinct things. In Kutri (Singapadu) boy and girl twins were born in September, 1933. Both died the day of their birth, before the *kubu* on the road to the graveyard had been finished for their reception. But the parents were banished just the same, and the full order of ceremonies took place after forty-two days.

This brings us to the question of whether the "wrongness" of boy and girl twins in Jabă families is a concept rooted in the ancient belief of the Balinese people antedating their conquest by Hindu-Javanese princes, or a concept spread among them by those conquerors. As has been seen from the notes on various peoples quoted above, the concept is characteristic not only of Southern British India, but widespread in great reaches of Oceania. It has been reported from the Philippines that the Nabaloi people, inhabiting Benguet, North Luzon, believe "if there are twins, one is the child of the *ampasit* (a malevolent spirit belonging to

7: Belo E-5 (1931-1935) 1936 OF7 Bali OF7

159 The father of Rendah was called Boedal. He was one of five sons who were, in order of birth, Bedil, Boedal, Klepoeg, Krèbèk, and Siboh (fig. 2, I).
602 All five served during their adolescence as parakans, temporary slaves or
[569] attendants, to the local Tjokordā, a Satrya prince. In return the prince made them grants of land when they married. He was a prince famous for his generosity. "One was ashamed to ask anything of him, for he gave so much."

The father of these five was called Géwar. No one remembers the name of Géwar's father, nor of his elder brother, who figures in this study (fig. 2, I). All that we know about the old man, who was Géwar's father and Rendah's great-grandfather, is that he lived in a house next to the old "palace" (now disappeared) of the Tjokordā in Bandjar Koetoeh, the same bandjar which Rendah and his cousins still inhabit. Géwar was born in this house, but he did not inherit it. After his marriage, to Raras, also of Bandjar Koetoeh, he lived in the house marked 2 on the plan (fig. 3). Possibly this was a grant of the Tjokordā. In those days the region all about the village of Sajan was wilderness, covered with forest. When families grew and the young men wished to set up for themselves, they had to clear the ground for their housecourts and ricefields, level the land into terraces, and extend the canal system to bring water to their fields. This tremendous task must have been carried out by groups. It is known that the parent village of Sajan was Peliatan, a village at a distance of five or six miles, and that in the time of Rendah's grandfather and great-grandfather offshoots of many Peliatan families, the overflow from a district already fully populated, pushed out to form the new settlement of Sajan.

159 The five sons of Géwar, then, were born in House 2. The eldest, Bedil,
591 moved out from this house, and built House 3 at the time of or shortly after his marriage. He had five children, the three eldest, girls, the two youngest, boys (fig. 2, II). They are Rendah's paternal parallel first cousins. It is to the son of one of these cousins, Gari, that Rendah has married his eldest daughter.

591 The eldest daughter of Bedil, Méweh, became the second wife of a man
608 called Soewakā, who was a sentanā to his first wife. A sentanā is a young
428 man, generally a younger son, who marries the daughter of a man without sons. He then becomes the successor of his father-in-law, lives in the house of the bride's parents, makes offerings at the household shrine of her ancestors, and foregoes his own family. He inherits from his father-in-law house and land, and his children continue the line not of his parents, but of their maternal grandfather. In this case the man is said to "follow the woman," and becomes a member of her family, just as in the usual marriage

Bahau OC5
Makassar OG6
Batak OD5
Bali OF7

[426 cont.]
masters if he can find someone who is willing to pay his debt to his master. This is more or less a brighter side of bondage, because a bondman can, if he has a bad master, at least try to improve his lot. Apart from this difference, bondage and slavery are very much alike. Many people look down on bondmen with as much disdain as on slaves.

In Celebes, more specifically among the Buginese and Makassarese, persons become slaves through debts. It can happen that a person has many debts, his own or inherited ones, which he cannot pay himself and which the family refuses to pay. If the creditor agrees that the person may work for him until the debt has been paid, then he becomes a bondman, but if the creditor is not satisfied with that and neither the sovereign nor the hadat (state council) loans the money, then the debtor is sold (1)

1. Niemann, "De Latowa," Bijdr. T., L. en Vlk, v. Ned. Ind., 4th series, Vol. VIII, p. 227.

and becomes the slave of whomever buys him. Furthermore, one becomes a slave by selling himself, by being sold as a prisoner of war, or as punishment for wrongdoing against the state council or the sovereign.

The slaves may be declared free if the behave well or if they buy their freedom.

[427] A special instance when slaves are declared free is at funerals. We mentioned this earlier for Bali; here we want to point to the Batak and Buginese, among whom the same custom exists (1).

1. Van der Tuuk, Bat. Wrdb., see mangalopas (lopasan). Neumann, Tijdschrift Ned. Aard. Gen., Vol. IV, p. 40.